4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Pima Indians; he may be related to some of them. Yaqui Indians, with whom Papago do not mingle so freely, also work there. The child may see Negroes working in the fields or perhaps colored troops stationed near Ajo, but the Papago consider "the black ones" social inferiors and do not associate with them.

Mexicans are encountered in many towns near the Reservation. They live near or among Papago who are working in town, and the child may be taken into Mexican stores. But the average Papago child's most memorable contacts with Mexicans occur on the annual pilgrimage to the church of San Francisco in Magdalena. The two-hundred-and-fifty-mile trip is the longest which many Papago children ever make, and they enjoy it to the utmost. The days of preparation are busy ones for the child, who runs many errands and keeps the babies out of the way of hard-working adults. On the way the family may pass through Sells and Tucson and perhaps have a little time to look into the stores. Magdalena itself is a paradise for the child. The booths with their bright clothes, strange foods, and fascinating knickknacks, the crowds in the plazas, the music in the bars and streets—all fascinate him. The blessing received by kissing the statue of St. Francis, he is taught to believe, is worth the long wait in the crowded cathedral, for it is his most powerful safeguard of good health throughout the coming year.

More frequent are trips to towns near the Reservation. Children from the eastern districts go infrequently to Tucson, and all the children from the western villages studied have been in Ajo many times. Nearly all the westerners and many from the East visit the homes of relatives working at the Ajo copper mine. In town Papago children love to go to the movies and buy comic magazines, even though they do not understand English. They spend a few cents for candy and stand about the streets watching all the people, particularly the strange whites. As at the fiestas, little girls stay close to the women, but boys run about by themselves.

For years, school children of the western districts have gone to the municipal Christmas Eve celebration in Ajo. They travel in the school bus and on arrival run about the town square. A uniformed band plays near the huge decorated trees in the park; there is a parade, with Santa Claus in a sleigh, and treats of candy and fruit for everyone. The youngsters enjoy it all, but they usually skip the parade and other preliminaries to establish themselves in line to receive candy. They are not shy and will push as hard as Mexican or white children to get to the front and enter the line a second or third time to get more candy. It does not occur to them that this might be unsportsman-like; the candy is being given away, and the youngsters assume that they are welcome to all they can eat. To them this is a whiteman's fiesta, and at a fiesta the host always says, "Come in and eat; eat all you want." They do.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

302 [142] [832] [824] [751] The men frequently have slight moustaches. At present the men all have their hair cut short, but a luxuriant growth was formerly considered a standard of beauty. It was occasionally washed with an infusion from the roots of a vine called *ádoʃi*. Sometimes these natives would plaster the head with clay, to kill parasites and ensure a better growth of hair. The women still take great care of this ornament to their persons and are often seen brushing it with brushes made from the roots of sacaton grass. With the children, it is cut so that it may grow strong, and the cut hair is twisted into a cord which is used in tying together parts of the burden basket as well as in the tying of the saddle-bag. Formerly the custom was to leave the children's hair long on top of the head, back of the neck, and in front [149] of each ear. I saw a left-handed man and a left-handed woman in the tribe. If it be permissible to draw any [513] general conclusions from the sound sleep of my companion, Pablo, these natives sleep unusually soundly. One morning, while he was with me, he woke up several yards below his bedding, having rolled down a declivity during the night in his sleep. The Papago avoid eating [208] food hot from the fire.

157 They possess much force and stability of character, are quick of perception, loyal to the white man that they like, and if in danger do not cry for help. Under her natural bashfulness the woman hides sterling qualities of efficiency in household work, constancy, and faithful adherence to duty. These Indians are industrious and have a remarkably even temper; thirty children

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

SANITATION

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The lack of floors, adequate ventilation, etc., in many southern Arizona labor camps raises a question of sanitation. How healthful are these temporary towns?

The ease with which flies can get at the inhabitants and their food is one critical factor in sanitation. The suggested labor camp code states the condition most Americans would want were they living in these camps:

> "(j) All exterior openings shall be effectively screened with at least 16-mesh per square inch material. All screen doors shall be outward-opening."[1]

Pickers working in Pima county have about 70% screen protection on their windows. But this doesn't mean they are protected from flies, since most cotton farmers haven't invested in screen doors--they put board doors on their cabins. Actually only about 40% of the camps in the county in 1950 had both windows and doors screened.[2]

In Pinal county the fly situation was even worse, with only a fair majority of the cotton plungers housing their labor behind screened windows in 1950, and a meager tenth supplying screen doors.[3]

Labor camp owners are quite vociferous in placing a good share of blame for bad fly conditions on their migrant employees. They say pickers kick out doors and windows for firewood when it's cold, and don't care about flies. They remark especially about lack of concern among their Indian employees over flies.

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To a certain extent, this is a defense and a rationalization. But much of it is really accurate observation. The Desert People are not fly-conscious as are Anglos who have hygiene and fly-phobias drilled into them from an early age by parents and school teachers.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.
[2] Based on examination of 10 camps, 7 with screened windows, 4 with screened doors.
[3] Based on examination of 19 camps, 11 with screened windows (58%) and 2 with screened doors (11%).

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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825 In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in [854] clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking [252] with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot [262] of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751 In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and
362 early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor
825 camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[65] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

514 Whatever the construction of houses in their camps,
[466] Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 20 of 21 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95+%.

[2] Basis: 1 of 21 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4+%.

000 prove. In 5 to 10 years, skilled farm laborers will be living in very comfortable quarters indeed.

369 484 [493] Inevitably, in any rural farm area, certain problems remain even when farm housing is adequate or above standard. Farms are relatively isolated from towns with their opportunities for organized recreation, and their churches and doctors and hospitals. This isolation is little problem for the comparatively well to do cotton grower with his pickups and Buicks. But for the automobile-less majority of the Desert People working on farms all the time, such isolation is serious. They are cut off from other Papagos, from efficient shopping, medical care, recreation, and religious rites. Probably car ownership will increase among this group of Papagos, but their wage scale will not be high enough to enable them to solve their difficulties quickly.

000 Dr. Laura Thompson, who quarterbacked the Indian Personality Studies of the early 1940's (which studied the Papago among other tribes), has called for administrative action designed to meet needs both of stay-at-home Desert People and farm labor migrants.

> "It is recommended, therefore, that if improvement of the welfare of the Papago be the aim, the focus of administrative and tribal planning may well be to foster the new, constructive dual life pattern with its reservation base in cooperative family life with traditionally agricultural roots and herding economy counterbalancing the recently developed migratory labor cycle. This would involve a two-sided program pointed toward improving and developing the reservation base and conditions on one hand, and toward meeting the specific problems of Papago migratory workers on the other."[1]

364 751 944 000 One of the very specific problems of migratory workers among the Desert People--as well as the non-migrants--is health. There is no doubt that Papagos are exposed to deplorable health menaces in labor camps. But at the same time there is no doubt that they do not know how to protect themselves adequately. This lack of

[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 78.